

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 01545 051035Z

46

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 IO-10 NIC-01

ACDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /085 W

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R 050924Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7809

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 1545

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIETS MOVE TO SLOW IMPROVEMENT OF PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS

SUMMARY: SOVIETS IN TOKYO NOW TRYING ACTIVELY TO SLOW PACE OF IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY HAS TOLD LDP VICE PRESIDENT SHIINA THAT CONCLUSION OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WOULD HAVE UNDESIRABLE EFFECT ON SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. FONOFF SEEMS PLEASED AT EVIDENCE OF MOSCOW'S DISCOMFORT AND RELAXED AT PROSPECT OF TEMPORARY COOLING OF RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS THAT IS EXPECTED TO FOLLOW CONCLUSION OF PEACE AND AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING. MEANWHILE, CHINESE AMBASSADOR BACK IN TOKYO PRESUMABLY PRIMED FOR NEXT ROUND OF TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. ACCORDING FONOFF FIRST EUROPEAN DIV DIR ARAI, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY CALLED ON LDP VICE PRESIDENT
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 01545 051035Z

SHIINA FEB 3 TO EXPRESS CONCERN OVER THE PACE AT WHICH RELATIONS

BETWEEN JAPAN AND PRC ARE IMPROVING. IN COURSE OF 90-MINUTE CONVERSATION TROYANOVSKY TOLD SHIINA THAT CONCLUSION OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING WOULD HAVE AN UNDESIRABLE INFLUENCE ON JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. HE REPEATED PROPOSAL MADE BY FONMIN GROMYKO IN MOSCOW THIS JANUARY THAT JAPAN NEGOTIATE SEPARATE FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH SOVIET UNION LEAVING TERRITORIAL ISSUES TO BE HANDLED AS PART OF CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE TREATY. CONCLUSION OF FRIENDSHIP TREATY WOULD IMPROVE GREATLY THE ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING ONGOING PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

2. SHIINA REPORTEDLY REPLIED THAT TREATY WITH PEKING NECESSARY TO WIPE OUT LONG AND UNFORTUNATE PAST HISTORY OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. TERRITORIAL ISSUES BETWEEN JAPAN AND SOVIET UNION DIFFERENT FROM THOSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA AND DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE FROM TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. SHIINA TOLD TROYANOVSKY THAT HE WAS NOT IN ANY CASE IN POSITION TO PROVIDE AUTHORITATIVE REACTIONS TO HIS VIEWS. ONLY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD SUCH AUTHORITY.

3. PRESS COVERAGE OF MEETING WAS LOUD AND DISTORED. MAINICHI DAILY PICTURED MEETING AS RARE AND DRAMATIC CONFRONTATION IN WHICH SHIINA FLATLY REJECTED TROYANOVSKY REQUESTS TO SUSPEND SINO-JAPANESE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS, SHELVE TERRITORIAL ISSUES AND NEGOTIATE FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH SOVIET UNION. SOVIET DIPLOMATS DESCRIBE TROYANOVSKY, WHO SEES SHIINA REGULARLY, AS IRRITATED BY THE DISTORTIONS. FOR THE RECORD, FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA, WHEN ASKED AT FEB 4 PRESS CONFERENCE FOR REACTION, SAID JAPAN COULD NOT ACCEPT THE KING OF SOVIET REQUEST REPORTED IN PRESS.

4. ARAI COMMENTED THAT TROYANOVSKY APPROACH, EVEN AS ACCURATELY DESCRIBED, WAS SIGN OF DEEP SOVIET CONCERN OVER PACE AT WHICH RELATIONS IMPROVING BETWEEN PEKING AND TOKYO. SOVIETS WERE NOW VERY ACTIVE IN TOKYO, SUPPLYING PRO-TAIWAN ELEMENTS IN LDP WITH ARGUMENTS AGAINST PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, AND ENGAGING IN SUCH ANTICS AS LEAKING DOCTORED ACCOUNTS OF JANUARY GROMYKO-MIYAZAWA TALKS TO JAPANESE PRESS (SEE SANKEI SHIMBUN FEB 3). ARAI EXPECTS
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PAGE 03 TOKYO 01545 051035Z

ACTIVITY TO CONTINUE UNTIL PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATED AND RATIFIED (PERHAPS AS EARLY AS THIS SPRING), AFTER WHICH "COLD WIND WILL BLOW FROM SIBERIA", AND JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS WILL COOL PERCEPTIBLY FOR A WHILE. SAME THING HAPPENED AFTER CHOU-TANAKA COMMUNIQUE IN 1972, AND JAPANESE QUITE PREPARED THIS TIME. FREEZE WILL LAST FOR A FEW MONTHS, AFTER WHICH RELATIONS WILL IMPROVE SPURRED PERHAPS BY OPPORTUNITY THAT GROMYKO VISIT MAY PRESENT,

ARAI CONCLUDED.

5. COMMENT: THOUGH RESERVED AND MEASURED IN HIS ANALYSIS, ARAI WAS OBVIOUSLY PLEASED WITH THE DISCOMFORT THE SOVIETS ARE DISPLAYING, AND QUITE RELAXED AT THE PROSPECT OF A RELATIVELY ROCKY PERIOD IN DAY-TO-DAY RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. AT THE RISK OF WANDERING FROM OUR ANALYTICAL RESERVATION, WE QUESTION WHETHER SOVIET DIPLOMATIC MOVES IN TOKYO REFLECT THE DEEP WORRY AT TOP POLICY LEVELS IN MOSCOW THAT ARAI THINKS. IF THEY FELT GENUINELY TREATENDED ABOUT DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING, WE ASSUME SOVIETS WOULD HAVE MADE EITHER FORCEFUL PRESENTATION OR POSITIVE GESTURE TOWARD MIYAZAWA IN JANUARY. EMBASSY MOSCOW'S VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION WOULD BE VALUABLE TO US.

6. WHATEVER MOSCOW THINKS, PEKING SEEMS READY TO PRESS ON WITH THE GAME. AMBASSADOR CHEN CHU RETURNED FROM CONSULTATIONS IN PEKING ON FEB 4, REPORTEDLY A WEEK BEFORE EXPECTED. PRESUMABLE HE WILL HAVE A REPLY FOR VICE FONMIN TOGO'S PRESENTATION AT THE OPENING ROUND OF THE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATIONS JANAUARY 16 (TOKYO 0708).

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